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Fellowship

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HUGH FAULKNER

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Pacifism on the Campus

by Cecil Hinshaw

ff Within the past two years, three white men—a young American, a British cooperator, and an Italian expert on tropical farming—have helped 50,000 East Africans organize themselves for cooperative farming. Already the Federation of Uganda Farmers, as the native group is called, has (1) organized farmers' cotton and coffee marketing to put their price on a par with that of the Europeans, (2) started coffee curing plants and cotton gins to turn out a more lucrative product, and (3) freed their co-op from political control by British officials. The Italian agricultural technician involved in this pioneering venture is Roger Cazziol, who is reticent about Uganda but writes us a perceptive letter, *Storm Over Asia*, about the affairs of the neighboring state of Kenya, much in the news these days. Cazziol is a member of FOR and the Wider Quaker Fellowship. . . . Another background report with an African setting comes from Emmett Murphy, a young anthropologist. . . . Also in this issue, attorney Conrad Lynn considers the legal machinations of an embryonic "garrison state" and Cecil Hinshaw writes about pacifism on the campus.

On the Cover—Hugh Faulkner
visits the U.S. See page 24.

FELLOWSHIP

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Truce

THEY signed the truce in Korea about the time this issue of **FELLOWSHIP** was going to press. It was good news. Pacifists can join whole-heartedly with nonpacifists in gratitude that the killing, for a time at least, has stopped.

Yet it is significant that for nonpacifists as for pacifists the rejoicing was restrained, tempered with doubt. The ending was inconclusive; the suicidal ineffectiveness of the war method never more apparent. War is imbedded deeply in our culture, but it becomes increasingly harder for anyone to believe that its effect is anything but cancerous.

It is worth noting that no one has talked of the Korean

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Young pacifists and non-pacifists join in a Friends work camp at Mahwah, N. J., to repaint the tiny church of the Ramapo "mountain people" and help them build a community center. The "mountain people" are descendants of Indians, runaway slaves, Hessian deserters, and other stocks. They have suffered heavily from discrimination for many generations, in jobs and housing.



September, 1953

War as "police action" for some time. The pacifist insistence from the start three years ago that it was war, part of the power-struggle between East and West, has been largely accepted. Even the term "collective security" has fallen into disrepute, since the security so obviously does not exist and the collectiveness is a euphemism for a split right down the middle of the world's peoples.

The origins of the Korean War remain shrouded in mystery. The country it "saved" is devastated as no country has been in modern times, and—so far—the money available to the UN for reconstruction is pitifully inadequate. It all adds up to another paragraph in humanity's terrible indictment of war. Some day men will deliver their judgment, and war will disappear for good.

"The world was breaking loose in so many places that it was difficult to know how to think about one's responsibilities. Nevertheless, we knew it was important in such a time not to become simply paralyzed by the quantity of the need."

—Clarence Pickett, in
"For More than Bread."

Inquisition

The Congressional Inquisitors ran into their first major obstacle in July when American churchmen of all varieties snapped back at them with unexpected violence and unanimity. Only one small, though very articulate, group of extreme fundamentalists found something good to say for J. B. Matthews' published attack on the Protestant clergy as the reservoir from which had been drawn the "largest single group supporting the Communist apparatus in the United States." Most clerics, including Catholics and Jews, indignantly supported the position taken by Dr. Samuel McCrea Cavert, of the National Council of Churches, who said that "there is no more loyal group in America than the clergy of all faiths. . . ."

It is good to see that kind of resistance developing in the churches. We only wish that it had developed earlier, and that churchmen in general—instead of the few honorable exceptions—had shown themselves as vigorous and forthright in defending the rights of the Inquisitors' earlier victims as they were in defending their own virtue. Senator

McCarthy and Congressman Velde presumably know now that they cannot yet conduct a wholesale attack on the church with impunity; it would be much better if they could know that so long as they continue their present methods with anyone, they would confront the church's vigorous and unrelenting opposition.

Loyalty

One wonders about Dr. Cavert's insistence that "there is no more loyal group in America than the clergy." He is probably right, but this may not be a matter for unmitigated rejoicing. Is loyalty to a modern nation-state the *sine qua non* of a Christian minister? Cynicism, materialism and corruption have become a recognizable part of our domestic culture; reliance on military force has engulfed our relations abroad. In such a setting, genuine devotion to Christian teachings might well be considered subversive. It ought, at any rate, to induce uneasiness in America's men of God about claiming a position at the head of the loyalty list.

"When man knows how to live dangerously, he is not afraid to die. When he is not afraid to die he is, strangely, free to live. . . ."

—Justice William O. Douglas,
New York Times, July 19, 1953.

"J.B."

Many people in the Fellowship of Reconciliation find it hard to read of the exploits of J. B. Matthews without wincing—a slightly more personal wince than the exploits alone would call for.

The Rev. Mr. Matthews was not always in the business of harrying Communists, Socialists and assorted liberals. Back in the early 'thirties he was a pretty radical fellow himself: a Marxist and a pacifist. He was even for a while ensconced as executive secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, resigning after a poll of the membership had emphatically rejected his proposal that the F.O.R., while maintaining its opposition to international wars, recognize the validity of the "class war."

So absurdly do the wheels turn. If the Fellowship of Reconciliation were ever to be questioned about its attitude toward communism it could call in its ex-executive secretary, who stands well with the chief of inquisitors himself, to testify to his own failure to enmesh it in the party line. And had "J.B." not got himself soundly in with the hounds, his past might have him running as fast today as any hare in the field.

Food

The newspapers report that feeding stations in Berlin have had to stay open twenty-four hours a day to meet the demand for food parcels of East Germans streaming across the border. As many as 250,000 parcels have been distributed in a single day. Reports tell of workers in one huge East Berlin factory warning Communist border guards of their intention to come through; they gave the guards the choice of standing aside or fighting.

With the success of this somewhat paltry gift of surplus food so great, perhaps the government will give some thought to extending it to take in the full "hopelessly idealistic" pacifist program. It would require only an announcement that the United States, tired of preparing to kill hungry people instead of feeding them, is dismantling its armaments and putting the money and effort into a worldwide campaign to relieve hunger, poverty and disease.

The hunger is much greater in China than in East Germany; the poverty is deeper at other points behind the "iron curtain" than in East Berlin. And compassion and friendship, as we seem to have forgotten, still speak with more force than either repression or threats.

"Note on Nuremberg—Wasn't it convenient that all the war-criminals happened to be on the losing side?"

—FELLOWSHIP, November, 1946.

"In looking backward I wish we had been able to erect tribunals [for the "war criminal" trials at Nuremberg] not composed exclusively of the victors. . . ."

—John J. McCloy,
former High Commissioner to Germany,
December, 1952.



On the Brink of *chaos*

by Emmett Murphy

I WAS INVITED by the University College of Fort Hare to spend a year there teaching part of Professor Matthews' work, with time for research of my own. For that research I chose to do a study of the students at Fort Hare, regarding them as a "native elite," an emerging social group that assumes more and more prominence in the social, cultural and political life of the Africans in South Africa. My time was spent largely in getting detailed biographies of a number of students and gathering information on their problems, their aspirations, their attitudes on race and political matters, and observing their day to day activity.

I had been granted a visa and a permit to remain in the Union until July 5th of this year, as had my wife. On May 8th we were served by the local police an order from the Principal Immigration Officer demanding that we leave the country within fourteen days, that is, May 22. This order was written at

the direction of Mr. Donges, Minister of the Interior. It gave no reasons and made no charges. We were unable to get extensions or reasons for the action; the American Ambassador in South Africa is, as far as we know, still working on the matter to try to learn the reasons.

In general, our position during the year we spent in South Africa was uncomfortable. We were "on the spot" as regards our racial beliefs and activities; both Europeans and non-Europeans watched keenly to see how we acted. At the end of our stay we were classified by all, I think, as being definitely on the side of the non-Europeans, despite the fact that we were on close friendly terms with several of the European staff members at the college and were on good casual terms with a number of European business people and shop clerks in the town of Alice. We had tried to avoid taking an open stand on our views, though we were quite frank with the non-Europeans at the college

and with the European staff members we knew best. The European children in the town of Alice were the most open in showing their dislike for us, and several times showered our house with stones and rotten eggs. We heard frequently of gossip among the townspeople about our friendliness toward non-Europeans, and as a result of this we appeared in the town only when going to the shops or the movie.

Students Resent Regulations

There is a powerful tension at Fort Hare between the white staff members (the staff is interracial), particularly the Principal, and the students. Student regulations are rather severe; in general they imply by their strictness that the students are not to be trusted in most spheres of activity. Since the European universities known to the students do not have comparable regulations, the students assume (with some justification) that the specific measures applying at Fort Hare arise from the race of the students and are evidence of race prejudice on the part of the college officials. My wife and I are sure that many members of the college teaching and administrative staff are prejudiced against Africans, though in personal contacts they do not show it. The prejudice is more a matter of feeling that the students, being the near descendants of primitive people and coming from primitive areas, are not fully civilized and cannot be trusted fully with the management of their own affairs nor with the business of determining their own activities.

This is deeply resented by the students and goads them into frequent acts of protest, rebelliousness and impoliteness. There were, while we were at Fort Hare, periodic

crises between the student body and the University Senate (composed of all administrative officials and most teaching personnel), crises in which the students would hold mass protest meetings, would boycott speeches by disliked officials, would send strong letters of complaint to the Principal; would defy the college regulations. Our opinion is that the students are treated unjustly, just as non-Europeans all over the Union are, and that they are largely misunderstood by most European staff members. We had no difficulty in making close friendships with the students despite our color, nor in eliciting very kind and considerate cooperation from them in various things. This was, of course, a source of irritation to several white staff members, that we received all friendliness and courtesy from students which they had not been able to get in years of teaching at Fort Hare.

Growing Anti-White Feelings

I suppose there is little need of going over the various facets of the Nationalist movement in South Africa and of the passive resistance campaign. The reports we have seen in the American press appear to be accurate. The non-Europeans in South Africa are treated harshly and unjustly in a thousand ways; there is no area now left in the United States where Negroes receive treatment as stern and unfriendly as in South Africa.

We feel that there are two opposing forces at work in South Africa today that sweep all else before them. They are the anti-black nationalist power seekings of the Nationalist Party (plus a substantial number of supporters of the United Party), and the nation-

tic movement of the Africans, which is fast becoming anti-white. We in America must recognize the growing anti-white feeling among the Africans. It is not a deep color prejudice such as many whites possess; it is more a desperate last resort of self-protective activity. It has been so difficult for the Africans in South Africa to know who their white friends were, and to see them taking a definite stand, that in their desperation they are moving toward a feeling that there will be prejudice against Africans as long as a white person retains power in the country. This trend is not affected, as nearly as we could tell, by people like Duncan or Reverend Scott. The better educated Africans are simply beginning to say: "We know there are a few whites who do not hate us and want to oppress us, but they are so few and there are so many others who pretend to be friendly while they are working against us that we must wrest power from all whites before we will be safe."

Violence Perhaps Inevitable

As the Nationalist Party and most whites in South Africa grow more extreme and harsh in their attempts to keep the blacks down, and the various African political organizations and most blacks get more extreme in their ambitions to remove the chains which have bound them and to assume control of their own destinies and their land. White liberals are being progressively squeezed out of power by the extremists on both sides, as are African and Indian moderates. Unless a new element enters the picture, we feel, a violent clash between the two forces is inevitable.

Mild and hesitant steps will not relieve the tension for long, as

many liberals and moderates in South Africa believe. The only thing that will be effective will be a quick granting of fundamental rights to non-Europeans and embarkation upon a huge program of social and economic progress for all the people. It is our opinion that at least 75% of the Europeans in South Africa are unswervingly opposed to this much.

The African and Indian leaders we know are sincere in their belief in the use of nonviolent resistance. They operate against more and more violence from the Europeans, however, and find occasional difficulty in restraining their people from meeting violence with violence. More and more influential Africans are reluctantly accepting the opinion that nonviolence will one day prove useless, and that their people will turn to violence. They do not want violence, of course, and the more aid they get from whites in the outside world the more effective will be their nonviolent methods.

The Brink of Chaos

My general feeling is that South Africa is a world on the brink of chaos. The whites go out of their way to boast and brag of their power and prosperity, yet they are at the same time being consumed by a deep anxiety and fearfulness. They provoke the Africans often and seem to be almost eager for the day to come when the Africans rise up and can be put down once and for all by brutal force. The philosophy of liberalism is a dim and scarce heard voice crying in the wilderness of fear and hate.

The Africans are suffering more and more, and are increasingly feeling their sufferings. They are becoming disillusioned with the

ideals of moderation, courtesy and peacefulness. They are pushed off the sidewalks; they are legislated against, they are shamed for being unable to improve themselves, and they are slapped down when they try to improve. They are still willing to try peacefully to alleviate their lot, but they are beginning to wonder if civilized methods will ever bring more than sneers from their white rulers.

The country is in a mess and is due for violence, in my opinion. My sympathy, though not with vio-

lence, is whole-heartedly on the side of the non-European. This sympathy, though we made no official statement of it, is in essence what caused us to be forced out of the country. A person in South Africa today who obviously however quietly, treats the non-Europeans on a purely equalitarian basis and fraternizes often with them is a danger to the Government, and we are examples of this. Clearly the Government recognizes this. On the "brink of chaos," defiance is hardly welcome.

A General Speaks His Mind

Now that the fighting has temporarily abated, the outstanding impression which emerges from the scene is the utter uselessness of the enormous sacrifice in life and limb which has resulted. . . . A nation has been gutted and we stand today just where we stood before it all started.

This experience again emphasizes the utter futility of modern war—its complete failure as an arbiter of international dissensions. Its threat must be abolished if the world is to go on . . . and if it does not go on, it will go under.

We must finally come to realize that war is outmoded as an instrument of political policy, that it provides no solution but international suicide.

We must understand that in final analysis, the mounting cost of preparation for war is in many ways as materially destructive as war itself. We must find the means of avoiding this great sapping of human energy and reserve. . . .

While we must be prepared to meet the trial of war if war comes, we should gear our foreign and domestic policies toward the ultimate goal—the abolition of war from the face of the earth. . . . **You cannot control war; you can only abolish it.**

—General MacArthur, speaking on July 25, 1951, when peace negotiations in Korea first began.



Storm over AFRICA

by Roger Cazziol

PUBLIC OPINION the world over has become interested in the long-tent continent of Africa. In South Africa racial tension was released in violent turmoil, and in Kenya Mau Mau terrorism reared its head as a daily threat to the lives of both Europeans and "loyal" natives. Troubles in Kenya are a barbarous primitive reaction of the natives to their bare subsistence, while riots in the Union have a political nature and are aggravated by the heavy color bar. There is no apparent connection between these two phenomena of violence, but there is common to both countries the presence of white settlers and Indian communities.

Background of Conflict

Kenya as a British crown colony is ruled by a Governor who is backed by a legislative council in which there are eleven elected European representatives and five Indians, two Arabs and four Afri-

cans who are appointed by the Governor. Since the council legislates in the interests of 29,000 Europeans, 101,000 Indians, 24,000 Arabs and more than 5,000,000 Africans, this distribution seems planned to give the vote majority always to the Europeans, so that they may claim and impose their "white supremacy." Universal adult suffrage is granted to all the minorities but not to the Africans.

Nevertheless, the *fons et origo* of the day-by-day increasing struggle is not the old-fashioned colonialist policy of the government, but the general attitudes of the Europeans toward the natives. About three-fourths of the whole territory of the colony (the size of Colorado and New Mexico combined) is unproductive desert and steppe land. The only fertile, and therefore wealthy area, is in the highlands around Mt. Kenya, where about half of the population lives. A fifth of the arable land of the highlands is owned by 18,000 white

settlers with their large modern farms. The other four-fifths is broken up into "reserves" in which more than two million of the Africans live. The "reserves" are overcrowded, and primitive native agriculture does not provide enough food for all. Consequently, thousands of people emigrate to near-by Uganda or serve as laborers for the settlers.

"Cheap Labor"

Lack of a better alternative compels these hungry people to accept the low wage the settlers give them. One day's work on a planta-

tion under the torrid sun is rewarded with a sum corresponding to about eight cents in U.S. currency and the "posho" or daily ration, consisting of two pounds of crude maize cobs. Yet the cheap cotton shirt an African can buy costs two and one-half dollars; a loaf of brown bread fifteen cents; a pound of butter fifty cents, and five cents. No wonder these people are an easy prey to disease, malnutrition, brutal depravation!

The exploitation of this "cheap labor" provides the main incentive for fortune-hunting Europeans to claim for themselves absolute r-

Journalists in Kenya

Some months ago old Colonel Grogan said in the Legislative Council that the Government should "take a hundred of the rascals" (Mau Mau suspects, that is), hang some of them in front of the others and send the survivors home to their villages. It was an open declaration of a counter-terror policy.

"Make no mistake," said one European to me, "Grogan says what others think but don't say in 'Legco.' Don't think Grogan is just a joke."

And the evidence is piling up that Grogan's policy is being unofficially implemented, especially by the Kenya Police Reserve. European settlers and settlers' sons, with arms and a very free hand to use them, they are the object of more terror today than the Mau Mau itself. The terror is called "The White Mau Mau" by many Africans.

—REGINALD REYNOLDS in *Peace News*, June 26, 1953

Despite the complaints of white settlers in Kenya that there must be no reward for rebellion, the wage issue is now going to be investigated.

The latest official wage statistics (March 1952) show that of 114,000 native Africans employed in industry 44,000 earned less than \$8.50 in cash a month. Some of these got food and clothing. Sixty-eight thousand received less than \$10 monthly and the greater part of them undoubtedly were compelled to live on those wages and buy their own food. A favored few were getting \$45 to \$60 monthly.

These cash wages in industry were far above agricultural wages. The squatter system permitted a certain percentage of the 250,000 natives on European land to run small farms and a few head of cattle of their own, but the others subsisted entirely on wages of about \$2.80 to \$2.90 monthly. A government commission will now investigate whether these wages are "adequate."

—*New York Times*, May 25, 1953

supremacy. How can one of these starved laborers be expected to "like" his master, living in comfort and frequently wasting the money earned from *his* labor? No, exploitation begets sordid envy and hate that degenerate into the atrocities of the Mau Mau secret sect and its "courts." Ambushes, arson and murder are daily crimes of the Mau Mau, and the reaction brings jail, mass-deportation, even corporal torture.

Indians Unpopular

Indians often play a role that is hardly edifying. While in South Africa the low-caste Indian joined the struggle with the Africans, in Kenya the wealthy Indians are detested by Africans as well as by Europeans. These Indians frequently are richer than the Europeans,

and they do not mind using fraud and dishonesty in order to make money. They literally squeeze money from the Africans, making profit of the ignorance of the illiterate natives. I have encountered Indians selling colored water as medicine and liquors made with methyated spirits.

A remedy is not easily found, but it is sufficiently evident that a new Africa is emerging. The evil force that characterizes Mau Mau could be eliminated by a more liberal policy toward native grievances. Such a policy would involve racial tolerance, political advancement and improved social and economic conditions for the Africans, who are, after all, the natural inhabitants of this continent. It is time that Africans claimed their inheritance.

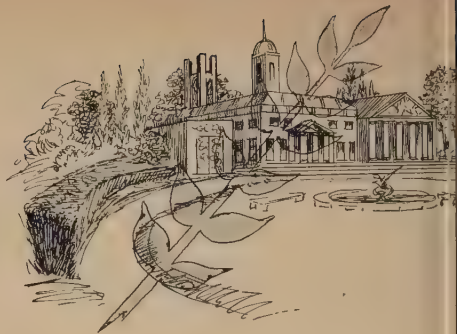
The Blessing of God

Pastor Niemöller is well known as the animating spirit of the German resistance to Hitler. He refused to apply racial laws within the Church, refused to allow the truth confessed by the Church to be distorted under the influence of Nazi theories. His preaching was so courageous that Hitler had him interned at Dachau. There, his opposition . . . became total.

In ever increasing numbers, the Germans turned to Niemöller. They hailed him as the man who had saved the honor of the Church, and who in some measure would save the honor of Germany itself. He was thought of as tomorrow's religious leader . . . of a Germany delivered from the brown plague. Then in 1945 Niemöller came out of prison. People waited for him to utter a resounding "Rally around me!" Is this not the man with clean hands, the clear-sighted patriot, and the true Christian? Niemöller is not a timid man. But now, instead of expressing his pride as a resister, he drew up, with the Bishop of Worms and the resistant Church, a confession of his sins and of his share in the responsibility of his people for the crimes committed while he was in prison. As a result, Niemöller lost the sympathy of eighty percent of the Germans who had sought shelter behind his innocence; but to the confessing Church of Germany his act opened the gates of grace. Because of his repentance, the blessing of God lies over Germany today. God is glorified when man humbles himself.

André Trocmé

PACIFISM



on the Campus

by Cecil Hinshaw

A GROWING CONSERVATISM on most college campuses has dampened the ardor of many pacifists in educational circles during the last few years. Pressure from cautious administrators, loyalty tests, and purges of "subversive" professors have softened the voice of liberals, pacifists included.

Yet the opportunity before pacifists in American colleges may be greater now than it has ever been. True, the 'twenties and 'thirties saw a more easy entrance for pacifism into campus thought, but the depth of the interest created now seems greater. The climate of thought today, dictated by impending doom, forces more people to earnest search for solutions than ever before.

Although it may sound paradoxical thus to suggest that both these trends—increasing opposition to pacifism and growing receptivity to it—are present today, the judgment of many people who visit campuses

regularly supports such a statement. Students respond amazingly to the pacifist message, provided it is presented as a reasonable alternative to the chaos of another war. Of course it is difficult at first to get an audience, but once students have grasped the message, lethargy gives way to extremes of opposition and approval. That is all the wise pacifist leader needs in the way of opportunity.

Pacifist leaders on many campuses, tired of a struggle that seems destined to end in defeat, may wonder about this optimism. They have seen the climate of student opinion change from the idealistic pacifism of a past decade to the cynical acceptance today of "moral ambiguities" and the "unnecessary necessity" of using violence. To the extent this analysis of potential receptivity may appear to be questionable, it should therefore be quickly recognized that this faith in the future of pacifism on our campuses d

pends upon some important changes in our collegiate program as it is usually carried on.

New Courage Needed

Foremost in the needed pacifist emphases is a new courage, a shift from defensive tactics to offensive strategy. Psychologically the person who waits in timidity and fear for someone else to broach the subject of pacifism is already defeated.

Closely related to this is the need of more complete articulation of the pacifist case. We are expecting too much when we suppose that average people will be won to pacifism by hints and suggestions. In point of fact, such half-way pacifist teaching is more likely to confuse and alienate. Pacifism in its truest meaning stands sharply opposed to the current paganism. That difference is so great that a change from one to the other means a rethinking of almost all of one's habits of life and thought. There is still room for the subtleties of approach, especially of gentle, loving appreciation of the psychological need of the potential convert for self-respect and esteem of the best in his background. But this must be accompanied by rigorous and sustained intellectual search for truth, a search that requires a more open and direct pacifist apologia than we have usually considered desirable.

Pacifism makes little appeal when only part of its case is presented. In fact, it may then appear to people who prize integrity as almost immoral because of its failure to deal realistically with evil. Pacifism as a total way of life, undergirded by religion, and disciplined to an effective program of political action, makes a tremendous appeal to all who have come to doubt the

validity of war. The number of such doubters is very much greater than we may realize, especially in academic circles, but their doubts are normally held in check because even acceptance of war may be preferable to a moral and political vacuum. A Gandhian pacifism often provides for them an answer to the quietly desperate search they are making for some reasonable alternative to the chaos of war. The wise and effective presentation of pacifism in our colleges and universities might now produce a pacifist movement more widespread and contagious than has ever been known in America.

Strain May Be Unavoidable

The professor of pacifist persuasion will need a fine sense of propriety and loyalty in order to balance his devotion to the pacifist cause against his devotion to the college. He can and should recognize that strained relations may be unavoidable, even that the cross may be the only final answer in a given situation. Yet it is still true that he has a real duty to the college of which he is a part and which gives him the opportunity to teach. This means that courtesy and good taste—the constant attempt to understand and appreciate the thoughts and problems of those whose job is the administration of the college and who may feel the expression of pacifism as a danger to the college—is especially needed by one who seeks to guide others into a revolutionary change of outlook and loyalties.

Another pitfall for the pacifist professor is failure to maintain perspective in witnessing to his faith in the classroom and outside. Narrow-minded, intolerant, single-track pacifists can be a greater lia-

bility to our cause than are the militarists.

Fair to the Opposition

Of all people the pacifist is the one who ought most surely to be fair to the opposition, making certain there is adequate presentation of the opposing viewpoint. Yet sometimes we are so anxious for the acceptance of our views that we shortcut by failing to give the other side its inning. Just because of the nature of pacifist beliefs such a lack of tolerance is deeply resented by others. A professor is so nearly an absolute ruler in his classes that he must be especially alert to this danger. If necessary, he ought to take the initiative in providing for a fair and courteous hearing for the opposition.

One of the most dangerous pitfalls we face is failure to recognize the psychological needs of the potential converts to pacifism. Forgetting the tortuous path by which we came to our convictions, we too easily do psychological violence to the person struggling for emancipation from the bonds of traditional thought. We forget that the ideological imperialism we so easily and properly condemn is too often found among ourselves. Especially do we need to guard ourselves when we deal with young students, new to pacifism. The shock technique may have to be used to awaken them, but it ought to be accompanied by the most loving and sympathetic understanding of them. Personal interest in them and their problems at this point is the price which the pacifist professor *must* pay if he is worthy of the responsibility placed upon him.

Salting all of our work with a sense of humor is one of the surest ways of avoiding pitfalls such as

have been described. Laughing at ourselves sometimes with other seeing the ridiculous along with the sublime—this keeps one from taking himself too seriously and helps to provide the perspective essential to balanced living for the reformer.

The opportunities a pacifist professor has of witnessing effectively to his faith are very many if he faces his responsibility with vision and imagination. The suggestions here given are by no means exhaustive.

Classroom opportunities to teach the essence of pacifism come most daily, nor is there any department lacking in such opportunities though some areas of study have more than others. The very fact that mathematics, for instance, is rather lacking in pacifist teaching opportunities means that the opportunities that do come, provided they are natural, are even more effective.

Small Groups at Home

In addition to classroom opportunities, the experiences of many professors indicate that small groups, meeting in the homes of professors, constitute a splendid channel for work. Some of us who have engaged in creating such small fellowships have been surprised later to find that the students involved have gotten more from informal groups than from formal classes or our public addresses. Informal reading, worship, intimate and free discussion, and sharing our deepest convictions can make such groups far more meaningful in changing human lives than we sometimes dare to believe.

Closely related to development of small cells is the promotion of pacifist literature. The group me-

ing in the home requires a center in some devotional material. It need not be pacifist in name, for something like Thomas Kelly's *Testament of Devotion* will make a continuing contribution to the growth of both students and professors. The professor can use assignments in pacifist reading in many classes, especially in connection with term papers that may properly be related to pacifism, or give a plug in the classroom for an article or book. But the greatest service a concerned teacher may be able to render in the use of literature is in quietly handing or suggesting to a student something that will fill the need of a soul groping toward the light. When we talk with others we tend to feel a need of asserting ourselves over against one who differs with us, but the barriers are down when we read alone. Here the author, unknown and unseen, can almost become a part of our conscience, guiding us delicately through the adjustments in thought to the new outlook of pacifism, and we can take time out to think our own thoughts—the independent ventures so necessary for a break with binding tradition. I have myself made it a practice to keep many copies of Kelly's little pamphlet, *Holy Obedience*, handy and have found it natural to distribute several dozen copies.

In Student Organizations

Another channel open for influencing students is student organizational life, especially the religious associations. Leadership in these groups is normally welcomed. And in groups where a tradition of receptivity to pacifism has been built up, as is the case especially in the student YMCA and YWCA, the

opportunity is great. No one can study the impact of liberal thought on these groups between the two world wars without gaining a healthy respect for the work to be done here, provided again the necessary requirement of tact and understanding is met.

In many colleges a pacifist professor can channel speakers with a pacifist message into the program of the college. A visitor can often say what a person regularly on the campus may not be free to say, and an alert professor can move on from where the visiting speaker leaves off, taking advantage of the introduction thus made of pacifist philosophy.

The result of all these lines of work should finally be the development of a choice group of convinced pacifist students. The time will then come when a professor faces his greatest opportunity as the students ask for work to do and responsibilities to discharge. It is when we witness publicly to our faith that our convictions become most meaningful. This is the test that determines how significant is the change that has come in our thinking. Then it is that the student needs wise help in learning how to share his newly found faith with his fellow students and in some cases with his family at home. Closely related to this training in expression is the necessity for expressions in practical form of pacifist philosophy. Week-end work camps, CORE projects, and such familiar idealistic work is the natural and necessary concomitant of verbal sharing of the pacifist faith. The experience and wisdom of an older person is at this point vitally necessary. There are few things more tragic than the needless shipwreck of idealistic faith on the

rocks of ill-conceived and poorly executed idealistic action.

Whether a professor be permitted the rich joy of a growing harvest in such teaching, exemplified most in the success of those who have once been his pupils, or whether he faces unavoidable tension and even the sorrow of forced

withdrawal, he may expect to find a reward far beyond that resulting from ordinary teaching. Only to one who teaches and lives his convictions knows the deep, abiding joy that grows with the years, surviving the sorrow of failures, and ripening into the fruit of incarnated love.

On Saying "No"

The following quotation is from the novel "Bread and Wine," written in the 1930's by the great Italian anti-Fascist novelist, Ignazio Silone. It reports a conversation by a young girl and an anti-Fascist priest in a small town during the Ethiopian war, the morning after some anti-war and anti-Fascist slogans had appeared on some of the walls.

Bianchina told Don Paolo she couldn't understand why there was such a lot of fuss about a few inscriptions on the wall. Don Paolo was surprised, too. He tried to explain it.

"The Land of Propaganda is built on unanimity," he said. "If one man says 'no,' the spell is broken and public order is endangered. The rebel voice must be stifled."

"Even if the voice is that of a poor, solitary sick man?"

"Even then."

"Even if it belongs to a peaceful man who thinks in his own way, but does nothing evil apart from that?"

"Even then."

These thoughts served to sadden the girl, but gave the man new heart. He felt ashamed of his previous discouragement.

"In the Land of Propaganda," he said, "a man, any man, any little man who goes on thinking with his own head, imperils public order. Tons of printed paper repeat the government slogans; thousands of loud-speakers, hundreds of thousands of manifestos and leaflets, legions of orators in the squares and at the crossroads, thousands of priests from the pulpit repeat these slogans ad nauseam, to the point of collective stupefaction. But it is enough for one little man to say 'No!!' in his neighbor's ear, to write 'No!' on the wall at night and public order is endangered."

The girl was terrified, but the man was happy again.

"And if they catch him and kill him?" the girl asked.

"Killing a man who says 'No' is a risky business," the priest replied, "because even a corpse can go on whispering 'no! NO!' with a persistence and obstinacy that only certain corpses are capable of. And how can you silence a corpse?"

Used by permission, Harpers



shadow of a GARRISON state



by Conrad Lynn

SINCE THE MEMORY of man runneth not to the contrary, the dissenting opinion in Anglo-American jurisprudence has been the vehicle for the expression of unorthodox views. For many years Holmes and Brandeis paced the advance of social justice in the law by their boldly argued minority convictions. All during the Harding-Coolidge-Hoover era, liberals took comfort from reaction in the refreshingly challenging nonconformity of these two judges.

Then came the New Deal and the minority gradually became the majority. Union activity received support instead of restriction. For a time the expression of revolutionary opinion became almost fashionable. Social experiment was, if not the dominant tendency, at least a formidable current. Riding this wave, the Communist Party developed the technique of the Popular Front. Every humane cause had its Stalinist cell. After Hitler attacked Russia, Browder could foresee So-

viet Communism becoming the bedfellow of an uneasy Democratic administration.

Change in Climate

Soviet intransigence after the war, combined with many other factors making for a conservative shift in the domestic climate, gave occasion for a new outlook on radicalism. The Russian imperium embraced one Eastern European state after another until, with the capture of Czechoslovakia from within while the Russian army glowered on the border, it became apparent that the Communist revolution had taken on a unique revolutionary character. In the case of the eleven Communist leaders (*Dennis v. U.S.*) the Supreme Court wrestled painfully with this problem. Using veiled language, the Court, in effect, held that the Communist Party in its agitation was not merely competing for the allegiance of the electorate through a clash of ideas in the market-

place, but constituted a conspiracy ready to strike from within as a fifth column in close coordination with Russian military moves.

The violent disillusion thus formulated has made it increasingly difficult to express any strong political and social dissent. McCarthy found that the sure way to defeat an opponent on any issue was to charge over and over again, with or without proof, that his target was a Communist. The technique helped bring victory to the Republicans in a national election for the first time in twenty years. Only now is the full strength of this national hysteria becoming evident.

Non-conformity Is Anathema

Following the election returns, the courts are enthusiastically blazing the pathway back to Neanderthal man. Non-conformity has become anathema. Rarely does a judge dare to welcome a pacifist alien to citizenship. As defender of a number of political dissentients in the courts, my experience in the last year has been instructive.

Even up to last Easter it was possible to find some balance on the bench. Jim Peck, Dick Kern and Nate Cooper, three pacifists, were arrested during the 1952 Fifth Avenue Easter Parade for displaying pacifist literature and posters. The technical charge was disorderly conduct. At the trial, the arresting policeman admitted under cross-examination that he had observed a woman with a bird cage perched atop her hair, another woman in an abbreviated bathing suit distracting the passing worshippers, particularly males, and various other sensational purveyors of advertising who had caused at least as much commotion as the pacifists. When it became plain

what the real motive of the official was in arresting the pacifists, the prosecution was thrown out.

The City of New York staged a "Mock Air Raid" on September 20th, 1952. The ostensible purpose was advertised to be a training exercise for Civil Defense. The War Resistance League planned a demonstration in Times Square at the same time and prepared leaflets calling on citizens to consider the only adequate answer to the threat of the atomic bomb—the pacifist solution.

The Dick Kern Case

Dick Kern and a friend, Naom Serebnick, continued the distribution of their leaflets after the major project had ended and were arrested and costed by the police. When the patrolmen attempted to force Dick to move on, he responded with non-cooperation and fell to the ground. After this had been repeated a number of times, the exasperated policeman threw him onto the floor of a taxicab and proceeded to batter him unmercifully with fists and billies. At the station-house they dragged the half-conscious youth to a rear room and finished the beating.

Then the Brooklyn College student was charged with felonious assaulting the cops. Royal France associated himself with him in the defense. At the hearing in the Felony Court, we were able to have the charge reduced to simple assault and to procure the release of Dick on \$1500 bail.

Three judges sat on the case in Special Sessions—Troy, Silver and Loscalzo. The District Attorney had no witnesses save the two cops who claimed that Dick had assaulted them. The two policemen claimed that Dick had beaten them so severely with his fists that they were

compelled to resort to treatment at French Hospital. But no records of that hospital were produced. The beating they alleged they had endured had taken place in full view of hundreds of spectators, but they hadn't bothered to obtain any witnesses.

McCarthy Technique Introduced

The District Attorney had, however, not overlooked one potent weapon—the McCarthy technique. Throughout the trial he insisted on linking Dick's activity with that of the Communists. It was apparent that neither he nor the judges saw much distinction between Communist propaganda and the leaflet of the War Resisters League.

The only eyewitness Dick could produce was the young girl who had assisted him in the leaflet distribution. She told a simple straightforward story. She swore that Dick had not assaulted anyone. But she had gained access to the police station shortly after the arrest. There she was horror-stricken to see the blacked eyes, battered jaw and puffed lips of her friend. Not being a pacifist, she could not distinguish precisely between the language of the leaflet and the line of the Communists, as was requested by the DA. The preoccupation of the prosecution became how to make an amalgam between the

pacifists and the Stalinists. All objections to this line of questioning were brushed aside by the court. When the defense rested, the judges conferred about thirty seconds and unanimously found Dick Kern guilty of assault.

Husks of Freedom

It is hard to escape the conclusion that Dick Kern is being punished because he was distributing pacifist literature and not because there was any real belief on the part of the authorities that he had violently assailed with his fists two fully-armed policemen. The United States Supreme Court has not yet reversed the holdings that the distribution of nonconformist literature is protected by the First Amendment. The Police Department is acquainted with the state of the cases. The charge of felonious assault was first placed against Dick Kern to explain his injuries as the result of the policemen using reasonable force to repel his aggression and to subdue him.

Secondly, but just as essential from their point of view, it was necessary to place that charge against him to secure his conviction for disseminating the pacifist view. Here lies the real danger in this technique. If it becomes generally successful, we will retain the husks of freedom in a garrison state.

Faced by a brutal foreign tyranny, as are the citizens of Central Europe, people of liberal political faiths know where they stand, they know how they feel, and they are not slow to rebel when opportunities present themselves. Faced by a subtle domestic tyranny, the same kind of people are not sure where they stand, they dare not trust their feelings, they cannot see any opportunities to resist or rebel.

Resistance, August 1953

A Book, Bitter and Sweet

by Roland H. Bainton

THE ANGEL in the Book of Revelation gave to the prophet a little book telling him that he should eat it, and having done so would find it at first sweet in his mouth and then bitter in his stomach. This text came to my mind recently when I was looking over an exhibit in the Yale Library of books that were fatal or at least very damaging to their authors.

There was, for example, a book by an Italian, Aonio Paleario, written against the papacy during the age of the Reformation. The author sent the book to Switzerland for printing and placed his name upon the title page. Then, realizing the danger that this would entail, he wrote to the publisher requesting that the name be either expunged or replaced by a pseudonym. But the letter either did not arrive or was disregarded. The book appeared with the author's name, a copy found its way back to Italy, and he paid for his indiscretion with his life.

There was again a book entitled *The Restoration of Christianity* by Michael Servetus, a Spaniard, also in the age of the Reformation, who was deeply disturbed over the way in which Spain treated the Moors and the Jews. He wondered why, if Christianity were the true religion,

men would be so obstinate in rejecting it. What was it in Christianity that the Moors and the Jews found such a stumbling block.

The answer was the doctrine of the Trinity. Servetus then searched the Scriptures and could find there nothing of the doctrine as formulated in the creeds. There was something about the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, but nothing about one substance and three persons. He concluded that the doctrine was a fabrication that ought to be rejected in order that the Moors and the Jews might embrace the faith. Well knowing that his view would not be palatable, he had his book on the "restoration of Christianity" printed at a secret press and with only ambiguous initials. Someone, however, gave away his secret. He was arrested by the Inquisition in France, escaped, and turned up in Geneva, where he was to discover no more tolerance than in Catholic lands. Here he was once more arrested, and this time burned.

As I was looking at these and many other books, a librarian facetiously remarked that next time we should have an exhibit of books fatal to their readers. The jocular observation might be taken quite seriously. There have been books

that have been fatal, or at least very disturbing, to their readers. One thinks of Bernardino Ochino in the age of the Reformation, commissioned by the pope to read the works of the Protestant reformers and converted thereby so that in consequence he became a perpetual exile fleeing from one land to another.

In the Puritan period there was Francis Johnson, commissioned by Laud to read and answer the books of the early Congregationalists. Instead he was induced to join them in their exile in Holland.

Again there was the Hollander, Arminius, a rigid Calvinist believing in the strict doctrine of predestination, who was asked by his church to read works in favor of free will by a certain Coornhert and to write a reply. Instead Arminius adopted the views that he was set to refute, and it is the name Arminian that is applied to the doctrine of the freedom of the will.

One book in the exhibit was lacking, and that book was the New Testament. One wonders whether any book has been so fatal alike to its writers and to its readers. This little book was sweet in the mouth but bitter in the stomach. Think of its authors. Paul was executed under Nero. The tradition is unanimous that Peter was likewise a martyr. James, the brother of the Lord, was put to death in Jerusalem. Tradition has it that John the Apostle died as an exile on the island of Patmos, though there are certain indications that he suffered martyrdom along with James. In that case it was another John who died on the island. The roster of martyrs among the authors of the New Testament was exceedingly high.

And what shall we say of its

readers? The list is never ending of those who have been driven by the reading of this book to a course of action, if not fatal, at least disturbing and perturbing. One thinks of St. Francis, a gay blade reveling as the prince of fools, who was made by the New Testament into a fool for Christ, exchanging for the plaudits of his companions the scornful cries of the children who hailed him as a madman.

One thinks of a Martin Luther, who from the reading of the New Testament learned that the just shall live by faith and not by anything they can do to acquire a claim on God. Therefore Luther was led to reject the indulgence system of the Catholic Church, which rested on the assumption that some men are better than they need to be and have acquired superfluous merits which can be transferred to others. Luther's ringing denial brought upon him the ban of the Church, and only an unpredictable confluence of circumstances saved him from the stake.

One recalls Wesley, driven by the word of the Lord from the tranquil retreat of Oxford to face howling English mobs, or of a Livingstone impelled to embark from the shores of Scotland for darkest Africa. One adds men in our own day like Schweitzer, who when already renowned as an organist and a New Testament scholar, acquired the skills of a doctor and for a time renouncing his music went out to Equatorial Africa in order to bring to the natives so long exploited by the West, something of the art of healing of the West. How many there are throughout the ages who have been impelled by this little book, which is sweet in the mouth, to undertake that which is bitter in the stomach.

It must always be so, for this book proclaims a word of judgment that produces disquiet, pricks complacency, and instills a bad conscience. Luther was always amazed that David had no compunction after what he had done with Bathsheba and to Uriah. Only when confronted by the word of the prophet, "Thou art the man," did David cringe and see himself as truly he was. It is the gospel that convicts us of sin. Our eyes must first be opened and true behavior exposed before we recognize ourselves for what we are.

And if we accept the gospel we can never be comfortable. We shall not only be aware of our own shortcomings but also of our obligations, sensitive and ready to assume the griefs and the sins of others as Christ took to himself our troubles and griefs and sins. We shall be ready to take on assignments that are not only not easy to discharge but frequently more numerous than we are able to fulfil. And when we have done our best we shall be so aware of what we have been compelled to leave undone that we shall hardly be able to pronounce upon ourselves the verdict, Well done. The New Testa-

ment is a disquieting book. It calls upon us to be like Christ who came not to be ministered unto but to minister, who did not know when to lay his head, who took to himself the iniquities of us all and in his stripes has healed us.

Yet, we are never to forget that this book which is bitter in the stomach is sweet in the mouth. It is a book of judgment and reproach. It is also a book of consolation, comfort and of courage. How should men ever have been able to endure what they have undertaken throughout all the centuries if the love of Christ had not only comforted but also sustained them. "I can do all things through Christ that strengtheneth me."

The Bible is not a book of gloom and doom, but of joy and hope. From the very beginning it is the Spirit of God which out of confusion brings forth order and at the end it is the New Jerusalem which comes down out of heaven. The last word is not the cross but the resurrection. And therefore no matter how bitter may be the book in the stomach, always it will be sweet in the mouth because we are more than conquerors through Him who loved us.

A Prayer After 'Korea'

Forgive us, O God,

*That we have sought to see Christ, but failed to find Him in our neighbors;
That we have been more concerned for what we are doing than for that which Thou art doing;*

*That we have exalted our own importance and so could not exalt Christ;
That we have hoped for the best while lending our support to the worst;
That we have been shocked by the sins of our enemies, but have not repented of our own;*

That we have asked forgiveness for ourselves, but have not demanded it for others.

NEWS

from the Peace Front

Matthews Concludes Teaching Year Here

Professor Z. K. Matthews, who was in the United States as visiting professor at Union Theological Seminary, New York City, for the past school year, returned to South Africa on May 14th. While here, he spoke to hundreds of audiences in behalf of South African democracy.

Relatively few persons knew the pressure under which he worked a good deal of the time. Last fall, for instance, when the United Nations were discussing *apartheid* in his country, many American groups and individuals were anxious for Matthews to have an opportunity to speak before the Ad Hoc Political Committee on behalf of the African National Congress. Although it seemed for a time that there was a real possibility that the Committee might vote to hear Professor Matthews, pressure was put on him not to appear by high representatives of the South African government, and even by a direct representative of the United States state department.

That Professor Matthews was not free from the pressures of the Malan government up to the time he left the U.S. is indicated by the

difficulty he had in arranging for his return to Africa. By bringing up a last-minute passport technicality, the government tried to force Matthews to return home earlier than scheduled, but friends raised funds enabling him to fly and thus to meet his passport deadline. Upon landing, a thorough search was made of all his personal effects and some of his private papers were seized.

Peace Mission Looks Ahead

In anticipation of the next general assembly of the World Council of Churches to be held in August 1954, the Church Peace Mission is hard at work bringing plans for its Detroit Conference on the Church and Peace to a head. The 400 or so delegates to that December 7-10 meeting will consider, in the light of the Korean truce and other prospects for world peace, the so-called Third Position on war that was affirmed at Amsterdam.

The conference will discuss three main subjects: "The Contemporary World"; "The Basis of Christian Pacifism"; and "Practical Steps."

Faulkner Comes, Morris Goes

Hugh Faulkner, who is the organizing secretary of the British FOR and a speaker much in demand, is due to arrive in the States the 16th of October. He will speak for the FOR, first in the New York area and then in the other regions across the country. His local engagements, being scheduled for the 18th through the 23rd by Howard Dean of the New York FOR office, include preaching in Manhattan and Brooklyn, speaking at Yale Divinity School and addressing a luncheon and a mass meeting in Manhattan.

Preceding Faulkner will be *Vic-tor Yates*, a pacifist Member of Parliament, who arrives this month to speak, as Stuart Morris did in May and June, under the auspices of the War Resisters League and the American Friends Service Committee. Secretary of the Peace Aims Group consisting of 40 MP's, Yates consistently opposes conscription and armament. He has made it clear that he will not soft-pedal his war resistance position while speaking to American audiences.

Stuart Denton Morris, head of the Peace Pledge Union, returned to England in mid-July. Two of his eight weeks in this country were spent on Ellis Island, six in touring the country on a speaking engagement.

What is now known as the "Stuart Morris Case" is evidence of how the McCarran Act can be used against persons who are neither Communists, Fascists, nor sympathizers with totalitarianism. The reason for ruling Morris an "inadmissible alien" appears to have been solely that he was going to broadcast his pacifist views to the

American people.

The ruling made by Special Inquiry Officer Joseph Mack was under Section 212-a-27 of the McCarran Act applying to "aliens whom the consular officer or the Attorney General knows or has reason to believe seek to enter the United States solely, principally or incidentally to engage in interests which would be prejudicial to the public interest, or endanger the welfare, safety or security of the United States." An immediate appeal was taken, that was eventually successful in gaining clearance for Morris.

Meanwhile, the government offered to parole Morris provided he refrain from lecturing. Morris rejected this alternative, saying the question had become a matter of principle. After two weeks' detention and many protests and editorials bringing the matter to Washington and to the people ("Let the Guy Talk!" said the *New York Post*), Morris started his tour. His lectures were well attended and press coverage was perhaps more extensive than it would have been had his immigration trouble not been so widely publicized.

Large Papers Refuse CCCO Ad

The Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors has recently tried placing an ad about its services in large circulation papers. It all began when a concerned citizen wrote the CCCO about how unsuccessful he had been in trying to place a CCCO ad in several large Midwest papers and suggested that the committee try to place it in Philadelphia. The committee was interested and went ahead as suggested.

It found neither the *Inquirer* nor the *Evening Bulletin* willing. The refusal was not based on the wording of the ad for as a matter of fact the CCCO offered to let the papers write their own copy, as long as the ad announced the availability of assistance to men "conscientiously opposed to war in any form."

After failure with the Philadelphia papers, the ad was given to a placement agency. The agency first tried the Philadelphia papers again, and then *The New York World-Telegram*, the *New York Herald Tribune*, the *New York Times*, the *Boston Post*, the *Cleveland Press*, and the *Washington Star*, but no paper would grant space. The agency finally gave up.

Peace News Opens U.S. Sales Office

The New England Regional Office of the American Friends Service Committee has agreed to undertake the distribution of an air edition of *Peace News*, the international paci-

fist newspaper coming out of London each week. Russell Johnson, the Peace Education Director of the AFSC, 130 Brattle Street, Cambridge 38, Mass., is the American contact person.

Bundles of *Peace News* will arrive in Boston overnight from London each Friday and will be forwarded the same day to subscribers in this country. A 3-months' trial subscription of this air edition is being offered at \$1.00.

A feature of the *News* that will be of special interest to FOR members is A. J. Muste's weekly column on the American scene.

Friends' Committee Celebrates Founding

To celebrate its tenth anniversary, the Friends' Committee on National Legislation met in Washington in July for a three-day national conference. Keynote speaker was Senator Paul Douglas of Illinois, one of the most prominent Quakers in public life. He observed that "if Christians abandon the field of politics, they abandon government, and, to the extent that government influences and controls society, they abandon society itself."

E. Raymond Wilson, executive secretary of the committee since its inception, in outlining the continuing concerns of the Quaker lobbying group, said Friends should work for: strengthening of the United Nations; universal disarmament; relief to war victims in Korea and the Middle East; aid to refugees and revision of the McCarran Act; development of a peaceful and prosperous world through international trade and aid to underdeveloped countries; and freedom of mind and spirit.



Stuart Morris, left, of the Peace Pledge Union, and Henry Cadbury of the American Friends Service Committee celebrate the opening of the U.S. Sales Office for *PEACE NEWS*, international pacifist weekly.

Important Decision Rules Against COs

It is estimated that more than 100 cases of CO prosecutions had been postponed pending the Supreme Court opinion in the Harry Nugent and Lester Packer cases. Now that the decision has been rendered, 5-3 against the objectors, these cases will go on trial. The essence of the Court's decision against Nugent and Packer is that it is acceptable legal and civil procedure not to permit a CO on trial to know the names of those persons who inform against him to the FBI. Under the Selective Service Act, said the Court, the right of a hearing does not grant to the CO "the right to confront every informant who may have rendered adverse comment to the FBI."

Justices Black, Douglas and Frankfurter constituted the minority. Douglas especially made strong criticism of this inability to "break" the secrecy of FBI files: "The use of statements by informers who need not confront the person under investigation or accusation has such an infamous history that it should be rooted out of our procedure. A hearing at which these nameless people are allowed to present their whispered rumors and yet escape the test and torture of cross-examination is not a hearing in the Anglo-American sense. . . . Without the identity of the informer, the person investigated or accused stands helpless. The prejudices, the credibility, the passions, the perjury of the informer are never known."

Hayden Covington and Herman Alderstein, counsel for the two New York City men, have petitioned for a re-hearing.

In the meanwhile, *Eugene Par-*

ker, an FOR member on the faculty of the University of Utah, was acquitted in Federal Court on the basis of the Circuit Court's reversal of Nugent's original sentence.

Gerald Bullis, San Francisco, was sentenced recently to 2 years' imprisonment, and *Daniel Skiles*, Sacramento, to 1½ years' probation and a \$1,000 fine, for failing to report for Army induction.

A. J. Muste Retires As F.O.R. Secretary

Marking the conclusion of thirteen years as National Secretary of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Rev. A. J. Muste retires from that position this month. Replacing him will be the Rev. John M. Swomley, Jr., present associate secretary, with an as yet unnamed co-secretary.

Mr. Muste's retirement was decided upon in the course of the May, 1951, meetings of the National Council of the FOR, with the adoption of a policy of retirement of executive personnel at the age of 65, with the Council having the option to rehire for three additional years. Mr. Muste passed his 68th birthday last January.

Although he will go at once on a pension arrangement, with no administrative responsibilities for the organization, Mr. Muste will be provided with office space and secretarial help for any pacifist work he chooses to do. Officers and staff hope that lifting from his shoulders the heavy load of administrative work that has grown about the secretaryship will make it possible for him to do even more speaking and writing for the cause. The months just ahead will be taken up with the Detroit Conference of the Church and Peace.

Jottings

We have received word of two important changes of address. The British FOR has moved from 38 Gordon Square to 29 Great James Street, W. C. 1, London, and the International FOR is now at 185 Gray's Inn Road, also W. C. 1, London.

The Rev. Dr. Howard Thurman, FOR member and pastor of the Interracial Fellowship Church in San Francisco, in September will go to the Boston University School of Theology. He will be university preacher and Professor of Spiritual Disciplines and Resources. He will be the first Negro to fill a full time faculty post at Boston University, and will head a six-member board of preachers. Before going to San Francisco Dr. Thurman was Professor of Christian Theology and dean of the chapel at Howard University.

FOR-member Wilbur McFadden, 22, of Elgin, Illinois, wrote a prize-winning essay for the nation-wide Point IV contest recently concluded under National Council of Churches auspices. The essay, judged third in the college section, has as its theme, "World Leadership and Human Dignity."

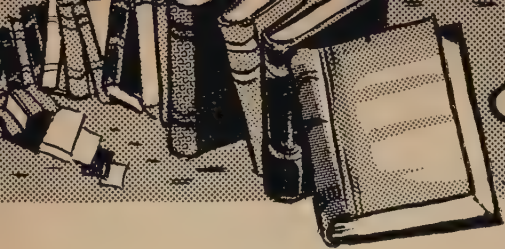
Wilson Head, director of the Parkway Community House in Chicago's South Side, is to be credited, according to a recent *Sun-Times* feature, with controlling a menacing dope craze among neighborhood teen-agers. Mr. Head is a member of the FOR.

Just before Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick's seventy-fifth birthday, announcement was made that John D. Rockefeller, 3rd had made a gift of \$250,000 to Union Theological Seminary to establish a visiting professorship which will bear Dr. Fosdick's name. The professorship honors FOR-member Fosdick for "his distinguished contributions as a teacher, preacher, writer and counsellor."

The Gandhi Mission Society, Thyagarayanagar, Madras 17, India, will "gratefully receive and put to the best use" books and articles relating to the activities and philosophy of Gandhi. The idea is to establish, in connection with the celebration of the Society's first twenty-five years in 1956, a central library containing a copy of all books and pictures by or on the Mahatma.

Patrick Duncan of Johannesburg, South Africa, the first white person to break the segregation laws in his country, has joined the FOR. Duncan, son of a former Governor General, was a leader of a mixed racial group that was arrested at Johannesburg on December 8, 1952, for entering a segregated Negro location, in nonviolent defiance of Union race laws.

The American Library Association has declined to hold its 1954 convention in Miami because the city is unwilling to comply with the anti-discrimination policies of the librarians' group.



BOOKS

A Sure Faith

Winter Solstice and Other Poems,
by Winifred Rawlins. Island
Press, 1952. 42 pp., \$1.50.

These are poems of thought advocating a way of life. Several have appeared in Friends' publications in England and the U.S. Unwaveringly behind every expression there stands Christian belief, always ready to assert its power through offering hope; at times of greatest darkness an order of light is asserted. "Love cannot lose."

Some readers ask of such religious poetry that it put faith to tests which risk it anew and achieve it again out of possible doubt. Here, there is utter reassurance; only the will to see is lacking:

Not our dark night
Shuts out our heritage, but our
proud wills
Pass by new mangers where
men's life is born.

Perhaps those who want risk of belief in poetry are asking not just that the good be disguised, but that the language do more than assert—that it demonstrate. This is not to say, however, that in this book poetry is quelled by dedication. Among moral encouragements there are aesthetic bonuses.

Short of that absolute achievement in which the saint comprehends beauty through goodness, or the artist reaches goodness through creation, we often look to writers

to set forth as well as possible something as good as possible. Winifred Rawlins is this kind, and her poems—risking little—still achieve something good. A noteworthy accomplishment for this interim year. Keep calling "Now."

—WILLIAM STAFFORD

Light and Bias

Back Door to War: The Roosevelt Foreign Policy 1933-1941, by Charles C. Tansill. Henry Regnery Co., 1952. 690 pages, \$6.50.

This book is a strange mixture of careful historical analysis and the author's own bias in the form of propaganda. Along with George Morganstern's *Pearl Harbor* it adds documentation and conviction to the idea that Roosevelt, Hull and others of the New Deal followed a policy of war, including one maneuvering Japan into "firing the first shot."

Aside from portraying the American diplomatic chicanery which led to our involvement in World War II, the major contribution and central theme of the book is the account of the Communist role in precipitating the war. Soviet activity in the Far East plus the willful stupidity of Stimson and Hull were responsible, the author feels, for many of the problems in Far Eastern politics that led to war. Similarly the Nazi-Soviet pact with appropriate suggestions by Stalin helped bring about war in Europe.

Despite the author's tendency to give too much credit to the Communists for fomenting the war, there is nevertheless a convincing analysis that war between Britain and Germany, Japan and China, and Japan and the United States was the aim of Soviet foreign policy which Soviet leaders carefully fostered. This thesis leads Prof. Tansill to the idea that from the beginning America's real enemy was the Soviet Union and the war begun in 1939 is the war we are still fighting in the 1950s.

Japanese Peace Moves

There are some interesting passages which shed light on previously unknown or little-known episodes. One of these is the story of a Roman Catholic missionary, Bishop Walsh, who had been asked by a Japanese official to go to Washington in November 1940 to tell the President "that the Japanese Government 'wished to negotiate a peace agreement: 1) an agreement to nullify their participation in the Axis Pact. . . . 2) a guarantee to recall all military forces from China and to restore to China its geographical and political integrity.'"

The book provides a real insight behind the scenes not only of American government policy during the Roosevelt era but also of the Soviet policy of talking peace while fostering an international violent class struggle.

On the other hand, the author's prejudices are reflected in such dogmatic statements as: "The main objective in American foreign policy since 1900 has been the preservation of the British Empire." His feeling about Franklin D. Roosevelt can be seen from the following passage: "When one reads the col-

orful columns of Westbrook Pegler's *Fair Enough* and ponders the repeated assertions that the wealth of the Delano family was partly gained from dubious smuggling operations along the coasts of China, it would seem all too true that Roosevelt's roots went very deep into the dark soil of the Orient. . . . It is possible that he did feel some spark of gratitude towards the Chinese who had been exploited for his benefit."

Similarly the author, who is a Professor of Diplomatic History in a Jesuit university, blames Protestant missionaries for the early anti-foreign program in China and Communists for the more recent problems. His only reference to Catholic missionaries indicate their helpful and peacemaking role.

One also gets the impression the author is prejudiced in favor of Japan and Germany and against Britain, Russia and the New Deal. The historical record speaks so clearly about the author's central theme that it is unnecessary to propagandize the reader as he does. In fact, the frequent editorial slanting of passages may nullify some of the good historical analysis, if the reader does not at the outset take into account the author's bias.

—JOHN M. SWOMLEY

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Politics Central

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

It seems to me unfortunate that FELLOWSHIP should join the ranks of the vocational pacifists. ("Politics, unfortunately, is not the primary function of the pacifist. His function is love. . . ." So says the editor on page 4 of the May issue.)

A major part of our function as pacifists, as I see it, is to combat such compartmentalizations. If you mean that "in the present political situation," something very basic has to happen before we put much energy into the conventional pattern of politics, that is one thing. That is not what these statements say, however, and they furnish grist for the anti-pacifists and Niebuhrites who will say a few kind words in passing for vocational pacifists.

To say that peace could be made only slightly by politics seems to me so fantastic as to make me wonder if some mental slip-up doesn't explain this note. Rather, I would agree with André Trocmé when he says, "There now remain only prayer and politics, and ultimately these also go hand in hand."

The idea that love is non-political is essentially a reactionary and diversionary argument, and one of the curses which has pursued the Church, which of course by such an ideology and such a course made a definitely political impact upon society.

A note in passing: it seems a little unwise to have as the last statement, "And

that, of course, is the way in which kingdom will finally come." One could ask how one can be so sure, for the problem of eschatology and the little matter of the Kingdom of God upon earth have been rather thorny problems for Christian thinkers for some centuries. Even if it was sure, it does sound a bit cavalier.

If I seem to wax vociferous over what may be a small matter, it is because I don't feel it is a small matter but is central to our message and strategy. It would be interesting indeed for someone to explain how one can be both a revolutionary pacifist and also "non-political."

CHARLES WALKER
Executive Secretary
Philadelphia Region FOR

Not a Blueprint

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I am one of those FOR members who reads FELLOWSHIP from cover to cover and occasionally goes over an article a second time when I feel that I didn't get its full impact the first reading. However, I seldom find myself going back several times to reread something just out of sheer pleasure, satisfaction, and reassurance that it gives me. This is what I caught myself doing with your little piece called "The Pacifist Function" (May 1953, page 3).

Those two little paragraphs constitute a gem. In my way of thinking they are worth many, many times the incoherent and disorganized musings on utopia which Richard Gregg covered four whole

pages. What he wrote had little real value, I believe. Perhaps such mental activity is legitimate for the beginner in social action as he begins to get his first glimpse of a better world than the present one and is intrigued by the possibilities of his new vision. But I have come to the conviction that all movements that set out to change society should have not a blueprint but a direction. . . .

JOHN H. BROY
Los Angeles, California

More Humor Needed

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

The disappearance from our magazine of its most incisive and readable elements had (I suspected) been due to too many taking themselves and their work too seriously. No greater danger can confront any individual or organization than an inability to laugh at themselves, and hence a temperamental disinclination to spoof others.

Such behavior seems to me to run squarely against one of the major lessons of history. Don Quixote kidded chivalry and knighthood out of existence more surely and swiftly than any amount of serious argument could have done.

The *Frogs* of Aristophanes has remained a classic for over two milleniums while his sober works are known only to the "Classicists." The one book of Erasmus which has lived on in strength through the centuries is a spoof—"In Praise of Folly." (Cf. its modern counterpart, the *Screwtape Letters* of C. S. Lewis.)

One thinks further of Voltaire's *Candide*, of Mark Twain, of Will Rogers, and in our time Herblock's cartoons. If A. H. has to have his wings clipped, then how justify the use of the writings of that master of all living satirists, Milton Mayer?

So I plead for a return to FELLOWSHIP of frivolity. Humor is a serious business.

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Beyond consideration of its effectiveness in combating wrong, its value as a therapeutic agent is not negligible. Since we seem to be condemned to live out our lives in this "insane asylum of the Universe," how can anyone keep mentally balanced without all forms of fun from mild chuckles to hearty laughter?

If it be true that we are made in the image of God, then the Creator must laugh. Surely the hearers of Jesus smiled (and were intended to) as he pictured the Pharisee praying on his street corner, or as they tried to imagine a camel squeezing through a needle's eye, or when the Master spoofed the surly in his audience who, like children in the marketplace, wouldn't play either wedding or funeral, refusing either to dance or to mourn.

VERNON NASH
Santa Barbara, California

Church and Defense

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

... Of the seventeen local precincts of civil defense, ten are found in church buildings, four more in church schools or parish houses, one in a veteran's clubhouse, and the two remaining in civil defense recruitment centers.

Surely the church should be leading the people in all efforts to save and help human life, but what of such acceptance of military tactics and the whole idea of the "inevitability of war"? Is it too much to expect that our churches will lead the people in preparation for peace and justice?

ROBERT T. ADAMS
Buffalo, New York

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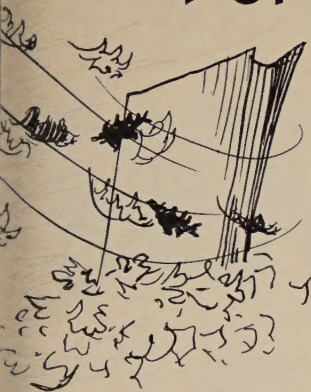
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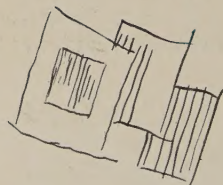
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